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The Shape of Things

APOLOGISTS FOR CHARLES LINDBERGH WILL find it difficult to dismiss his Chicago speech as an innocent transatlantic flier in universal peace. And if the Nazis are as smart as we think they are they will recognize it as the perfect "line" for America. It invoked the American Revolution, the fearless spirit of the pioneers, the army, the navy, and the air force. In tones more world-weary than vindictive, Lindbergh spoke of the British Empire as aged, complacent, and too rich; referred ironically to the democratic pretensions of the peacemakers of Versailles; and by implication celebrated the invincibility of Germany. He did not mention his own race theories. "In the past we have dealt with a Europe dominated by England and France. In the future we may have to deal with a Europe dominated by Germany." America for the Americans; Europe for the Germans. "An agreement between [the two hemispheres] could maintain civilization and peace throughout the world as far into the future as we can see." This is plain talk from our own Duke of Windsor. He was cheered by members of the German American National Alliance, successor in Chicago to the Bund, who had been ordered to attend the meeting en masse. He may well become the rallying point for the tendency toward appeasement which is already becoming vocal in some respectable native circles. The fifth column is forming on the right.

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IT IS NOT EXACTLY A SIN AND CERTAINLY not a crime for an American business man to talk trade with a commercial agent of the German government. At the same time it is good for the American people to know which of their business men have the stuff of which appeasement is made. If the case of Dr. Gerhardt Westrick presented nothing more than a simple matter of drumming up business, we should still feel that the New York *Herald Tribune* had performed a signal service in tracking him down and revealing the identity of his guests. In fact, however, Dr. Westrick's elusive conduct since he arrived in this country last April gives the *Herald Tribune's* scoop an even higher degree of usefulness. Ostensibly a commercial counselor to the German embassy, Westrick arrived with a grandiose plan whereby the United States would stake a Nazi-constructed Europe to some $5,000,000,000 in gold. Since then he has flitted from one hotel to another, winding up on the Westchester estate where the *Herald Tribune's* reporter caught up with him. Here he received not only executives of the Texas Oil Company, the Underwood Elliott Fisher Company, and other concerns, but humble employees of the Eastman Kodak Company, Electrolux, the Artcraft Iron Works of Buffalo, and other manufacturers. Dr. Westrick's activities need an airing, but we hope the authorities will not follow the policy of harrying him for irrelevant offenses. The fact that in applying for a driver's license he stated that he was not a cripple when in fact he has an artificial leg is not nearly so important as the nature of the proposals he has been making to American business. This question of dealing with Nazi agents for what they are brings up once more the painful question of Friedrich Ried. How long will it take the State Department to expel a Nazi consul who proved too annoying even for the Brazil of Vargas?

*

MR. ROOSEVELT'S ONE EFFECTIVE WEAPON for forcing action out of defense industries now hemming and hawing over taxes and amortization allowances is being taken from him. The navy "speed-up" bill as passed on June 22 contained a provision authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to commandeer any plant necessary for the national defense. Thus the threat of "conscription" could be used against any industry that declined to "enlist" in the defense program. The House has unanimously passed an amendment by Chairman Vinson of the Naval Affairs Committee repealing this provision. The Senate is expected to do likewise, and the President will be left without any "birch rod in the cupboard" for armament makers whose patriotism runs a poor second to their love of profit. With this "conscription" clause out of the way, aviation and steel and chemicals will have a better bargaining position than

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ever in the current fight over excess-profits taxes and amortization. Two schedules of excess profits have now been presented: one by the joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue—to yield $300,000,000; the other by the Treasury—to yield $500,000,000 to $700,000,000. Considering the huge profits already being made by defense industries, with the defense program hardly started, we favor the latter. Defense industries would prefer repeal of the Vinson-Trammell limitations on defense contracts and the enactment of five-year amortization, as promised them—but no taxes on excess profits.

*

THE PROCESS OF "APPEASING" BUSINESS AND disaffecting labor continues in Washington. At the last moment an anti-trust complaint against the oil industry was held up by the Department of Justice at the request of the National Defense Commission. Whether the suit will be permanently sidetracked remains to be seen, but the general feeling in many Washington circles is that nothing must be done to annoy big business during the defense program. Since workers are likely to make up a somewhat larger percentage of any army we may put into the field than are oil magnates, one would think it at least as important not to "annoy" labor. Nevertheless, the Smith committee, less amenable to reason than the anti-trust division, is on the rampage again. The committee accuses the National Labor Relations Board of reorganizing and renaming its Economic Research Division in order to evade the "plain mandate of Congress." The House, after the "revelation" that David J. Saposs, the division's head, was a dangerous red—though the Communist Party has been no less hostile to him than the Smith committee—voted down the appropriation for it. Chairman Madden changed its name to Technical Service Division and found funds for it elsewhere. He explained that he felt legally justified in his action, for while Congress had dropped the appropriation for the division it had not directed him to discontinue its work. The incident promises to be the springboard for a new attack on the National Labor Relations Board.

*

PREMIER MOLOTOV HAS SCOTCHED, AT LEAST for the time being, any hopes the beleaguered British may have had that the Soviet Union would betray Berlin. He attacked Great Britain, asserted that the pact with Germany remained strong, assuring Hitler of "a calm feeling of security in the East," reported that relations with Italy were improving, and spoke of a possible rapprochement with Japan. He put Turkey and Rumania on probation and made a veiled threat against Finland unless "certain circles discontinue attacks against the people and support friendly relations with the U. S. S. R." A day or so later Soviet newspapers featured an alleged attack on Soviet sympathizers at Helsinki, which may mean that Finland, as well as Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, will have cheering delegates at the next meeting of the Supreme Soviet.

*

PETAIN'S FRANCE IS PREPARING TO TRY THE men who began and carried on the war. The Vichy government has set up a Supreme Court of Justice for the purpose and has endowed it with powers so wide and so ill-defined as to be almost unlimited. Certainly its mandate will cover the acts of all the former ministers and their chief collaborators; how much farther it goes will doubtless depend on political developments. That the men who surrendered France to Hitler should thus sit in judgment on the men who tried—some bunglingly, some with patriotism and vigor—to defend it is a just measure of the present independence of the country. The least the Pétain government can do is to give their compatriots and predecessors a fair trial. Since the outside world will watch the proceedings with deep suspicion, we propose that a committee of American lawyers be sent to France to observe and report the case from start to finish. If the government intends to conduct the trial properly, it will welcome a group of qualified observers; the general public would accept the verdict of such a committee with far more confidence than it would that of the court itself.

*

NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ARE BACK AGAIN at their old attempt to have newspaper work declared a "profession"—so they can dignify it by paying lower wages and working their men longer hours. The old days of the NRA were recalled by the request of Elisha Hanson, counsel for the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, that the Wage and Hour Division exclude large groups of newspapermen from its benefits on the ground that they are "professionals." Supporting Hanson, like a chorus of three trained seals, were the deans of journalism at Columbia, Northwestern, and Missouri. Dean Ackerman of Columbia unearthed the suggestion that wage-and-hour restrictions endanger freedom of the press, a chestnut we thought lay buried with the Blue Eagle. Now that the Newspaper Guild is organizing business offices as well as news rooms, we find Dean Olson of Northwestern testifying that advertising solicitors as well as "reporters, copyreaders, and rewrite men" are "professionals" whose dignity is endangered by wage-hour regulations. But the publishers aren't putting all their eggs in one basket. The A. F. of L., which appeared with a news writers' union of its own in the Chicago Hearst strike, has now turned up at the New York *Times*—just in time to delay Guild negotiations for a contract.

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ATTORNEY GENERAL JACKSON HAS BEEN asked by the American Civil Liberties Union to investigate widespread attacks on minority parties, particularly the Communist and the Socialist Labor Party, in thirteen states of the Union. It is the duty of the federal government to protect national elections from interference, and the civil-liberties unit of the Department of Justice has full power to inquire into the incidents reported. Action has been taken by the Dies committee, by the American Legion, and by local newspapers—notably the Annenberg *Inquirer* in Philadelphia—to terrorize persons signing nomination petitions for the Communist Party and for the Socialist Labor Party. The American Legion has obtained the names of persons signing such petitions and circulated them among employers. Many persons, according to the Civil Liberties Union, have lost their jobs as a result. The Dies committee is intimidating signers of such petitions and misrepresenting their attitude. In Pittsburgh, where the *Press* had led the campaign, there have been forty-three indictments arising out of the Communist Party petitions, and in Philadelphia a campaign is under way to dismiss all teachers who signed. There have been 100 indictments in West Virginia and many assaults on both Communist and Socialist Labor solicitors in Illinois. It is up to the federal government to keep federal elections free from practices that smack of hooliganism and persecution.

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Blitzkrieg in the East

REPORTS of extensive demands against Indo-China suggest that the long-awaited Japanese *Blitzkrieg* against the Western powers may be near. The last few weeks have been momentous for Japan. Prince Konoye's new fascist government has lost little time in putting the army's anti-Occidental policies into operation. The ink had hardly dried on the agreement closing the Burma road when the new government took the extraordinary action of detaining thirteen British subjects on charges of espionage. New restrictions have been laid down governing foreigners living in China. And hints of early action against Hongkong, Indo-China, and the Dutch East Indies have become more open and persistent than ever before.

Stung by the failure of its latest attempt at appeasement, the British government has struck back at Japan by arresting nine prominent Japanese, also on charges of espionage. The United States has contributed its bit to the defense of Western interests by refusing to supply Japan with further amounts of aviation gasoline and by making the export of other petroleum products and No. 1 heavy-melting scrap iron subject to license. In the editorial which follows this we discuss in greater detail the practical applications of the licensing order. Although the restriction so far affects only a small part of America's export of war materials to Japan, it has drawn a sharp protest from Tokyo, where even a minor interruption in the flow of war materials is a genuine cause for concern. For propaganda purposes the Japanese press is saying that America's action in limiting oil and scrap is justification for an attack on the Dutch East Indies. Actually, the ultimate success of such an attack depends upon Japan's continued ability to obtain essential supplies in the United States.

With our attention riveted on Japan's controversies with Great Britain and the United States, we have all but lost sight of the undeclared war with China. There can be no doubt that the closing of roads through Indo-China and Burma has been a severe blow to the Chinese. But the full impact of the blow will not be felt for some months. During the past year China has built up huge reserves. All munitions in Burma are reported to have been cleared before the ban on shipments went into effect. Chinese industries have been developed to an unbelievable extent in the western areas still under Chinese rule. So it may be assumed that China will fight on with what help it can obtain from the Soviet Union. It is difficult to say to what extent Chiang will be forced to yield to political pressure from Moscow as the price of this assistance. But it is obvious that the Western powers cannot hope to retain their previous influence if they refuse to aid China in its hour of extremity. Already we

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learn of a settlement of differences between Chiang and the Chinese Communists. Although this action may not be very significant in view of Moscow's relative indifference to Chinese political issues, it is a clear indication of Chungking's determination to carry on the war.

Japan's demands for use of Indo-China's railways and for the right to establish a military base within French territory represent an effort to attack China from the rear. They indicate that the new Japanese government has not forgotten its struggle with China in its preoccupation with the possessions of the Western powers. But the primary drive in the next few weeks will undoubtedly be against the West. And if we are to judge by the events of the past three years, its intensity will be directly proportionate to the strength of appeasement sentiment in Britain and the United States. Three times—twice at Tientsin and once in the Burma road controversy—Britain has yielded to Japan. Each time it has almost immediately been faced with new demands. France's capitulation in regard to the flow of goods into Yunnan has been followed by extreme demands threatening French sovereignty over the colony. At the moment both Britain and the United States seem to be taking a somewhat firmer stand than at any other time in recent months. It is possible that this belated show of firmness may yet give Japan pause. But we dare not count too much on it. In the first place, the Western powers may again give ground in the face of continuous Japanese pressure; the British government has already released one of the Japanese business men arrested in London. In the second place, Japan may have committed itself to a policy of aggression no matter what the opposition. The present leaders of Japan are afflicted with the same mania that dominates the Führer of the Third Reich. It is a sickness which can only be cured by defeat.

Embargo with Loopholes

ON JUNE 11 Congress passed a law authorizing the President to levy an embargo on the export of military equipment and "machinery, tools, or material or supplies necessary for the manufacturing, servicing, or operation thereof." This power was primarily intended for use against Japan, and was broad enough to cover planes, oil, steel, machine tools, chemicals, and all other necessities of war. It was felt that our defense needs made it folly to go on exporting these materials to a potential enemy. There was also the growing public disgust with a national policy that gave the Chinese sympathy and the Japanese war supplies. Observers with no feeling for the delicate nuances and difficulties that played a part in this odd procedure were apt to apply hard names to it.

The Administration has yet to use this power in a vigorous and effective manner. On July 2 the President took advantage of the new law to issue an order dealing with the export of certain metals, raw materials, chemicals, plane parts, and machine tools. The last was the most important category covered by the order, for we ourselves shall soon face a shortage of machine tools. Last year exports of machine tools to Japan were eight times as large as before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, and shipments to Japan during the first four months of this year were running at a rate about 30 per cent higher than last year. The order was not an embargo order, however, but merely required licenses for export. Some shipments have been held up, others allowed to proceed. We do not know to what extent machine-tool exports have been reduced by the new procedure; it would probably take a Congressional committee to find out.

Oil and scrap iron, two of the materials Japan most needs to carry on its war against China, were not included in the order of July 2. Neither was copper. On July 25 the President issued an order applying the licensing provisions to petroleum and scrap iron. The delay in adding scrap iron to the list may be important. On July 18, seven days before, Japan completed the purchase of 300,000 tons of steel scrap. The price paid, according to the New York *Journal of Commerce*, which follows the commodity markets closely, was $2 a ton less than that charged the British. The order was an enormous one. The largest scrap order on record is 600,000 tons, but that was a purchase by the entire European scrap-buying cartel two years ago, before the war started. Steel scrap is a basic war material. The big steel companies favor its export because the reduction in the supply of scrap helps to maintain steel prices and puts a curb on competition from the little independents. Was the influence of Big Steel brought to bear to delay the inclusion of scrap in an export-licensing order until the Japanese had finished their purchases?

It may also be asked whether the political and economic power of the big steel companies made itself felt in the limited character of the licensing order. There are about seventy-five different kinds of scrap. The order applies only to No. 1 heavy-melting steel. Normally only about 40 per cent of all scrap exports and 25 per cent of Japan's purchases are in this category. But there is another catch: No. 1 may easily be mixed with a little scrap of other grades and classed as "mixed scrap," and mixed scrap is not covered by the licensing order. Even No. 1, of course, has not been embargoed but merely included under the licensing provisions. Will the State Department issue licenses for the shipments now being made on that 300,000-ton purchase? Most of that purchase, perhaps in anticipation of the licensing order, seems to have been for No. 1 heavy-melting. The State Department, we are informed, has the power to refuse licenses

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even though the purchases were made before licensing went into effect. If it permits the shipments, we shall have (very gently) locked the stable door on No. 1 scrap after permitting the Japanese to make a huge purchase here. It is important to note that the Japanese are now placing inquiries in our steel industry for orders totaling between 110,000 and 125,000 tons of raw and semi-finished steel. With our steel plants working at about capacity and a huge backlog of orders waiting to be filled, we are going to let the Japanese use our steel industry for their war in the Far East and for armaments that may be used against us. The steel industry seems to follow the dollar sign rather than the flag.

It remains to be seen how effective the licensing order on oil and its products will be. On July 21 the President placed an embargo on aviation gasoline, shipments of which have already decreased since the "moral embargo" went into effect last year. During the first five months of this year they totaled 90,000 barrels as against 300,000 in the same period last year. The moral embargo also covered planes; aircraft and parts sold Japan last year totaled $2,500,000 as against $11,000,000 in 1938. The new oil ban does not apply to gasoline for tanks, trucks, and passenger cars. As the situation stands, we refuse to supply the Japanese with planes and aviation gas to bomb the Chinese, but we continue to supply them with steel and machine tools to make the planes and with at least part of the chemicals for the bombs. We hope the Chinese appreciate these fine distinctions.

Help Britain Win!

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

A CURIOUS change has come over the war, a change that was not to be predicted. When France fell, despair and a sense of shame filled every freedom-loving human being, whether he lived in a warring nation or at a safe distance from the struggle. The fight, which was his fight, seemed lost; the surrender, the humiliating terms, were a measure of the defeat of his dearest values. If France did this, could we do better? If French democracy was so deeply infected, could democracy anywhere be healthy? Self-distrust and weakness seemed to spread from the surrendered nation, which had served the world as a symbol of militant democracy. Now, suddenly, the air has lightened. With the Continent in Hitler's hands from the North Cape to Spain, confidence is none the less beginning to rise.

The present war started as a tired war; it was declared out of necessity and entered upon half-heartedly. Hitler had to be stood off or there could be no repose in Europe; but nothing more stirring was suggested than resistance, a resistance carried out as economically and even as peaceably as possible. It took the disastrous invasion of the Low Countries and France to end the illusion on which the war was begun. For the illusion was bred out of deep national emotions in both France and England. In the hearts of millions of ordinary men and women lay the ingrained belief that the status quo was no great shakes at best and certainly not worth dying to preserve. It was merely better than fascism. You don't fight gladly to your last breath for so relative a value.

The fall of France marked a beginning as well as an end; Englishmen have discovered that the will to power of the fascist despots can be thwarted only by equal will and equal strength; that their choice is nothing less than struggle or slavery. And they have learned something equally important. They have learned that the war is not the war they believed it to be. Slowly the understanding spreads that the status quo is already gone—and gone forever. Ahead lies a Europe ruled by terror or a Europe reorganized as a collective democracy. No doubt the ordinary Englishman would shrink from so flat a saying: he is not consciously fighting for a socialist society either in England or the Western world. But he knows, at least, that he is fighting on the side of a more decent order of things—neither the narrow, defensive stand-pattism of Chamberlain nor the plug-ugly dynamism of Hitler. Almost imperceptibly the war has become his war.

This does not mean that Britain will win. Confidence and positive aims are assets of first importance; but planes and guns and ships are as necessary. If Hitler is to be not merely checked but defeated, resistance will have to be maintained and finally transformed into successful aggression. This cannot happen soon. England's first task is survival. It has evidently used the weeks since the fall of France for a major effort of defense. Clearly, too, the R. A. F. is performing brilliantly, although none of the specific reports of destruction by bombing are to be trusted—on either side. The one fact we can know for certain is that Britain's inferiority in every branch except the fleet is still acute.

And this brings us again to the pressing question of American help. Today, more than ever, Britain is fighting our battle. We know that we shall face Nazi aggression if Britain is defeated; we face it now in all its initial stages. It is against Nazi aggression that we are building a new fleet and turning out new arms. It is to meet Nazi aggression that we are debating the need of a conscript army. But these are our reserves and they are not yet ready. Our active fighting forces are the troops on guard in England; our main Atlantic fleet is the British navy patrolling the coast of the Continent. We cannot afford to withhold supplies from these forces, even to equip our own future forces at home.

Britain needs planes and destroyers—these above all. Not long ago a bill was passed to "expedite national

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defense and for other purposes." Section 14 of the new law prohibits the sale or transfer of any vessels, weapons, or munitions to any foreign government unless the Chief of Naval Operations or the Chief of Staff certifies that they are not essential to the national defense. Another law, dating from 1917, forbids the release from United States jurisdiction of "any vessel built as a vessel of war with any intent or under any agreement that such vessel shall be delivered to a belligerent nation." These two restrictions must be removed quickly. If we delay long we shall be too late. Experts give England a good chance of survival if it has sufficient continuous help. Without such help its resources will be unequal to an indefinitely prolonged resistance, no matter what the courage and determination of the people.

England needs destroyers in particular. Destroyers are the most effective ships for defensive use in the narrow waters of the Channel, and Britain's losses in this class have been heavy. The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies declares that we have 162 over-age destroyers, of which 60 could easily be spared. These vessels should be released promptly, by executive order if possible, by legislation if necessary. No other defense measures now under consideration—not even the hotly disputed proposal for selective service—is so urgent as this.

Successful resistance by England would alter all prospective plans for the defense of America. Britain is not going to surrender. It is up to the United States to help save it from defeat.

Farley to Flynn

BY CHARLES MALCOLMSON

Washington, August 5

IT WOULD be refreshing to be able to report that the selection of the Bronx political boss, Edward J. Flynn, to succeed Jim Farley as chairman of the Democratic National Committee has cleared the way for the long-awaited and drastically needed conversion of the party machine into a loyal, hard-hitting Roosevelt organization devoted to the party's New Deal ticket. Unfortunately, that bit of political alchemy appears as distant as ever.

The choice of Flynn was perhaps inevitable. He was one of three candidates who were both acceptable to the President and available. The other two were Paul McNutt, Federal Security Administrator, and Leo Crowley, former chairman of the FDIC and now president of Standard Gas and Electric. McNutt, who some New Dealers felt was entitled to the national chairmanship because of his dramatic abnegation at Chicago, is anathema to Farley, and that eliminated him. Crowley, a loyal New Dealer and a first-rate administrator, is also unwelcome in the Farley camp, though a more compelling factor in this instance was his current utility tie-up.

That left Flynn, an experienced organizer, perhaps no better but certainly no worse than political bosses everywhere, who is a friend of both Farley and the President. He is a first-class campaigner, possesses much of Farley's political astuteness, and in addition was a third-termer "before Chicago."

Induction of a new national chairman ordinarily would be followed by a revamping of the party machine and the replacement of uncooperative or patently disloyal officials. It now appears, however, that Flynn is not temperamentally fitted to carry out the fumigation the National Committee so badly requires and that the President is unwilling to force the issue. Thus the two Farley satellites best equipped to sabotage the New Deal campaign—Secretary Lawrence ("Chip") Robert and Treasurer Oliver A. Quayle, Jr.—will probably remain right where they are.

It is no consolation to realize that the New Dealers have only themselves to blame for this unhappy mess. The so-called high command was charged with many errors of commission at Chicago, and certainly the fumbling appeasement tactics in Suite 308-9 of the Blackstone Hotel provided no refutation; but the New Dealers' biggest error was one of omission. With the convention concluded and a straight New Deal ticket triumphant, they omitted the little detail of party organization. Farley stays on only until August 17, but his two most effective hatchet men, Robert and Quayle, were elected for another term. Thus in their moment of glory were the New Dealers outsmarted. There is always a possibility that a house-cleaning will be attempted, though Farley's influence with the new chairman and the President's reluctance to "stir up a scene" make it a very feeble one. In all probability the National Committee will remain as Farleyized as ever and will continue to hamstring the President.

The President's position, expressed privately to New Deal lieutenants, is that the national and international emergency supersedes all domestic political exigencies, and that as Chief Executive he cannot take time off for campaign matters. Underlying this, however, is the President's determination not to supply the Farleyites

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with real or imaginary grounds for complaint. Then, too, there is Mr. Roosevelt's weakness for retaining even disloyal lieutenants in preference to forcing a showdown. This serves to underscore the magnitude of the New Dealers' error at Chicago, for with a clean sweep of major National Committee posts at that time the President would not now be worried about a possible repetition of the yowling that went up when Farley was eased out of the chairmanship.

No politician ever retired amid so much maudlin sympathy as accompanied James Aloysius out the door at Chicago. The very writers and public figures who in 1932 and 1936 sneered at Genial Jim as a "machine boss" have led the caterwauling from coast to coast, pointing to him as a living sacrifice to principle. And, like Senator Burke, Senator Wheeler, and Vice-President Garner on somewhat similar occasions, Farley has been getting as many Republican banzais as he got hoots when he was plumping whole-heartedly for the New Deal. Anyone with a stiletto in Mr. Roosevelt's back is a great guy.

Plainly, the President feels that another such outburst is inevitable if Robert, Quayle, *et al.* get the ax, and he wants to avoid it. Just as plainly, however, his delicacy in the matter and the resultant boundless inactivity at party headquarters are leaving the Administration open to effective Republican sniping. Even the mordant Mr. Michelson has muffed the opportunity to snap back at the G. O. P.'s political grave-robbing—parading a few minor-league "bolters" from Democratic ranks in the hope that their defection will be mistaken for a great national upheaval.

There are unquestionably many liberals, Democrats, and even New Dealers who are sincerely opposed to the third term on principle. But the exhuming of Al Smith and the lame-duck Senators Burke and Holt to head the parade would scarcely indicate that the movement has attained the proportions of a tidal wave—not even when the list of bolters includes that high-minded, liberal searcher-after-truth Edmund M. Toland, who resigned as counsel for the Smith committee (investigating the NLRB) "to work for Willkie."

Nor has the Farleyized National Committee gone to the trouble of pointing out the growing similarity between the Republican campaigns of 1936 and 1940, a fact which has become painfully apparent here. Four years ago the Liberty League carried the torch; today it is upheld by the matrons and Junior Leaguers of Newport, Tuxedo Park, and Bar Harbor. Unkind critics may put this down as an effort to inject "class hatred" into the campaign, as perhaps it is, though all I do is quote from the society column of a Washington newspaper:

> So great is the Willkie fervor becoming that local ladies are even wearing their [Willkie] buttons on their evening dresses. A survey would probably show they are also being pinned to nightgowns. But nobody, to our knowledge, has yet emulated the Newport woman who four years ago had a Landon pin made of diamonds and rubies.

Democratic National Committee please copy.

Hull the Miracle Man

BY WILLARD R. ESPY

Havana, July 30

BEFORE adding my voice to the chorus of rejoicing over the hemispheric solidarity achieved at Havana, I want to warn against an old American habit of mistaking the pledge for the deed. It's still all on paper.

The ban on fifth-column activity was nice. So was the warning against abuse of diplomatic privileges by non-American powers. Immediately after backing these measures, however, Cuba, seat of the conference, proceeded to legalize again the local branch of the Spanish Falange, and on the request of the Spanish legation Cuban authorities arrested a refugee whom the legation charged with theft of a book in Madrid.* If he had not been able to produce documents to prove he was Cuban by birth, he would now be on his way to face a Spanish firing squad.

A longer article than this would be necessary for listing similar ironic events that occurred in other American countries while the conference was in progress. None the less, the Foreign Ministers accomplished at least as much as had been expected. By turning the Monroe Doctrine into a multilateral document and accepting United States leadership against the authoritarian threat, they gave democracy its first green light in many a moon. What we shall do with that leadership is another question.

On the hot and humid opening day of the emergency pan-American meeting, prospects looked black. Across the ocean fascism had spread like a fire through dry-rotted wood, and already sparks were alighting in the Western Hemisphere. Uruguay had escaped a Nazi coup by a hair's-breadth. There were rumors of impending

* The details of this incident are given in our correspondence columns on page 120.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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putsches in Bolivia and Chile. The Latin Americans' European markets were gone. A new business slump was answering their hopes of a war-time boom. Their poverty-stricken masses were restless. Their business men and politicians were listening, mouths watering, to German trade proposals and delivery guaranties. It was small wonder that some of the delegates were ready to accept the seemingly inevitable and have done.

They came to Havana to hear what the United States offered, and privately they said it had better be good. No new $500,000,000 loan from Washington would hold them in line; hadn't they learned from Britain's example that loans to jeopardized countries were not enough? Trade was what they needed; and if we wouldn't trade with them, Germany would.

Washington had to think fast. European possessions in the Western Hemisphere were in imminent danger of being taken over by the Nazis. The Panama Canal was menaced. Our growing market to the south might be lost. Unless the conference did what Hitler had said was impossible for democracies—unless it made hard decisions in a hurry—freedom might soon be snuffed out in the Western Hemisphere.

Seemingly insuperable difficulties stood in the way of effective action. Appeasers and isolationists, some of them in high places, were branding the mildest of defense moves as hysteria. An election campaign was under way; who could tell whether a Republican President would honor Roosevelt pledges? American business men were willing to increase exports to the countries south of the Rio Grande, on their own terms; but to increase imports, especially of such products as Argentine wheat and beef and Brazilian cotton, which competed with our own, was something else again. Moreover, they didn't understand or trust these Latins.

As for the Latin Americans, not only did their cultural ties run east and west instead of north and south, but many of the states were completely dependent on the European market. There wasn't even a land route to link the United States with South America; and if one should be created, who could tell how the Colossus of the North might use it? Some of their political and military chiefs admired Hitler and his methods more or less openly. They read German, Italian, and Spanish editorials which either jeered at the conference as a foredoomed economic absurdity or warned of what the fascists would do if Latin America let itself become the cat's-paw of Washington. Communists, Nazis, and Falangists on this side of the ocean cried in concert, "Beware of Yankee imperialism!"

Argentina felt that the United States was invading its sphere of influence. Its President, ill, had just resigned, and rumor said that powerful elements had urged him to this course so that he might be succeeded by a more pro-Nazi vice-president. Argentina had no wish to offend a Reich which might control its most important markets after the war. The United States sold to it but did not buy; in 1939, 17.2 per cent of Argentine imports came from this country, but we took only 11.9 per cent of its exports in return. Let's not commit ourselves on anything, whispered the Argentine delegate Leopoldo Melo in the corridors. The danger is only speculative; who said Hitler had designs here, anyhow? On the other hand, Central American delegates declared privately that eventually the United States would have to land marines and set up air and naval bases in their countries.

For three days the meetings dragged. The speeches were pretty, but Argentina stoutly held the bridge against passage of any effective solidarity measure. Then something happened. There was a stir among the delegates and newspapermen; they were uncertain and incredulous at first, later exultant. Argentina's satellite states were deserting it. Even Paraguay acknowledged the spiritual leadership of Washington. Talk was heard of a plan for smelting tin, Bolivia's most important product, either in the United States or in Bolivian factories set up with American capital. A railroad project uniting Brazil with Chile via Bolivia, and consequently carrying the United States' radius of effective action far south of its present limits, was slated for conference approval. A miracle was taking place.

The miracle-worker was a tired, gray man with a Southern drawl and a mule-driver's command of epithet. For seven years he had worked patiently, fitting together piece by piece the structure of inter-American good-will. Now he was proving his earlier work. And—behind his back—he was being called Saint Hull. The United States Secretary of State proposed no American league of nations, no all-embracing trade cartel which to be effective must injure at least the pride, if not the sovereignty, of certain member states. He proposed no hemispheric monetary unit, no customs union. No such measure could have passed. But he saw that the immediately pressing matters were attended to and laid the groundwork for more effective collaboration.

The most dramatic conference declaration, the Act of Havana, in effect gave the United States permission to occupy European possessions in this hemisphere should an emergency make such a move necessary. (The achievement was shadowed at the last moment by Argentina's reminder that it had to be ratified by the Argentine congress.) Though a committee of twenty-one is to be set up to deal with the problem, in an emergency any American nation may take the steps required for its own defense. A correlated convention places the administration of occupied regions under an Inter-American Commission, which, in Hull's words, will be "provisional in character, and will continue only until such time as the region is in a position to govern itself or is restored to its former

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status—whenever the latter is compatible with the security of the American republics."

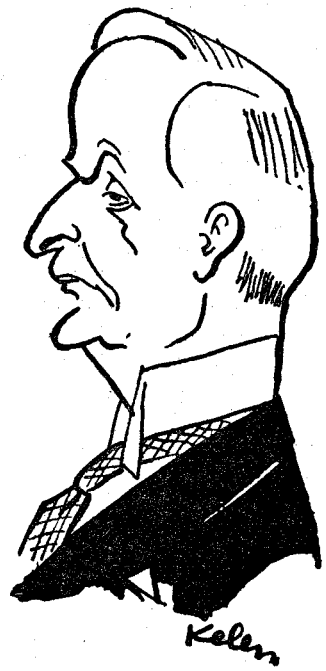
A second resolution called for immediate consultation among the signatory governments in the event that any one of them was menaced by subversive activity; a third set limits to the privileges of non-American diplomats and urged limitation of their staffs.

The conference attempted no technical economic measures, though it was generally agreed that cooperation among American sellers would be necessary in the event of a German victory in Europe. The existing Inter-American Economic and Financial Advisory Committee was strengthened, in order that it might, to quote Hull again, "proceed at once with the preparation of detailed plans to cope with active temporary handling and orderly marketing of existing and prospective surpluses; for development, where feasible, of commodity production and marketing agreements and arrangements; for promotion among the American nations of mutually beneficial trade. . . . Finally, the committee was instructed to consider, while these measures and plans are being developed, the possibility of a broader system of inter-American cooperative organization in matters of trade, credit, money, foreign exchange, etc."

Prior to the conference American experts had decided that this hemisphere was not ready for a full trade cartel, a common currency, or a customs union. Clearly, however, the foregoing quotation contains the germs of all these proposals. An economic bloc is being formed slowly and carefully to meet totalitarian tactics on even terms until reciprocity is again possible. For Europe needs the raw materials of the West quite as badly as the Americas need the European market. In 1938, the last year of pre-war commerce, Europe bought Latin American raw materials to an approximate value of $1,000,000,000. It has been estimated that 75 per cent of these commodities could not have been purchased elsewhere.

The delegates took home with them not only written agreements but an unaccustomed feeling of hopefulness. The Havana conference had "cleared the decks" for the job that must be done. Because its accomplishment depends on the strength of the democratic forces in the countries concerned, the first task of the United States is to support those forces. A relentless counter-offensive must be carried on against the serf-like way of life now driving westward from Franco Spain. We might establish schools in which to train our southern neighbors in our techniques and points of view. Social and economic institutes might be set up in Latin America, run by nationals but calling on United States experts to advise on means of improving social conditions and ending the lopsided economies which have retarded development—in some Latin American countries today one or two raw materials form from 75 to 95 per cent of the total value of exports. The present program of cultural exchange will be furthered by completion of the pan-American highway—which should be rushed, with United States supervision and labor if necessary.

Prerequisite to these measures is an increase in our purchases of Latin American goods. It is noteworthy that in 1938 but 60 per cent of our cacao imports, to the value of $12,108,000, a third of our wool imports, $7,788,000, and a third of our hide imports, $9,791,000, came from Latin America. These percentages can be increased, in the last two instances at the expense of British dominions. It should be possible also to raise our imports of manganese, cottonseed oil, henequen, sisal, and industrial diamonds. A gesture permitting restricted entry of Argentine beef would remove a psychological as well as an economic grievance, and large imports of Bolivian tin will be possible once smelting facilities are built.



Secretary of State Hull

The $180,000,000 we spent for rubber last year all went to the Orient, though South America was our original source of supply. Synthetic rubber factories may ultimately take care of our major needs, but our demand is great enough to build up a sizable Latin American industry. Henry Ford is experimenting with a rubber plantation in Brazil, and last June Congress appropriated half a million dollars for investigating possible rubber-producing areas of this hemisphere. An Institute of Tropical Agriculture, to be located in some Latin American country, was projected in May by the scientific congress that met in Washington.

The extent to which trade can be increased depends on both government and business. If American manufacturers can buy more cheaply elsewhere, they are not likely to turn to South America unless the government subsidizes their purchases there. And without a government guaranty American salesmen will not offer prices or terms commensurate with those of German agents. Business may demand guaranties likewise before investing in countries that have practiced expropriation. It will talk loud and long about the billion dollars of defaulted Latin American bonds held here.

There are knotty problems ahead. But the Conference of Foreign Ministers at Havana, the culmination of many years of patient work, has brought the vision of pan-American integration a long step nearer realization.

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Jehovah's 50,000 Witnesses

BY H. RUTLEDGE SOUTHWORTH

IN FORTY-ONE states of the Union members of Jehovah's Witnesses have been the victims of mob violence and police persecution during the past two months. In Mississippi a number of Witnesses were kidnapped and taken across the state line to Louisiana; in Wyoming a Witness was tarred and feathered; in Maine a "Kingdom Hall," as their meeting places are called, was burned down. Five Witnesses are being held in excessive bail in Kentucky for violation of the state sedition laws. In Texas alone there have been more than nineteen attacks on members.

Jehovah's Witnesses are believers in the Biblical interpretations of Pastor Charles Taze Russell, who died in 1916, and of seventy-one-year-old Judge Joseph Franklin Rutherford, his spiritual successor. Their creed, a belief in the second coming of Jesus, is a primitive American folk faith arising from the same soil that produced Mormonism and Adventism. The movement has now spread all over the world, but its main field of activity is still in the United States. In August, 1939, there were 41,902 active field workers in this country and about 11,000 more in Great Britain and Canada; elsewhere they are few—28 in Chile, 114 in Brazil, a handful in Africa.

The Witnesses insist that their movement, though basically Christian, is not a religion. "Religionists have an ambitious desire to rule the world in the place and stead of God and Christ. Religion is therefore a snare and a racket, and the Lord's kingdom will do away with religion and all fraudulent schemes," declares Judge Rutherford, who is not only the recognized leader of the movement, but also the president of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract societies of Pennsylvania and New York and of the International Bible Students' Association of Great Britain. His interpretations of Scriptual prophecies determine the present "line" of the Witnesses.

This line has changed greatly since 1884, when the movement was officially founded in Pennsylvania by Pastor Russell. The Witnesses today believe that Satan ruled the world until 1914, that Jesus Christ, son of the "Great Theocrat Jehovah God," was "enthroned as King in 1914 A. D. and since then has been specifically directing the Witness work on earth"; that Jesus came "to his Temple" in 1918, but that Satan still operates; that all governments are the "devil's kingdoms"; that "Armageddon will come as soon as the Witness work is completed." The "Witness work" is a relatively recent development, having been started in 1925, when the Russellites and the International Bible Students, following Judge Rutherford's Biblical interpretations, became Jehovah's Witnesses.

"This is no time for the erection of buildings for the purpose of assembling in them and going through a form of worship, but it is the time to go from house to house and tell the people the good news of God's kingdom, which is the only possible relief for suffering humanity," declares a recent Witness pamphlet. In compliance with this precept, each member preaches or "witnesses" by distributing the literature of the society from house to house. The Witnesses have a big printing plant in Brooklyn and one in Berne, Switzerland. More than 229,675,028 copies of books and pamphlets by Judge Rutherford have been given out. In the United States during the year ending September 30, 1939, the Witnesses distributed 15,169,244 pieces of literature and in addition 6,740,000 copies of their two magazines. Their literature is printed in eighty-eight languages.

To spread their doctrine the Witnesses use not only printed matter but the phonograph, the sound truck, and the radio. Their usual procedure when they "invade" a town is to "work" a street with a sound truck that blares out speeches by Judge Rutherford attacking established religions, especially the Roman Catholic church. If invited, they enter homes and play their phonograph records and give out literature. Last year Witnesses in the United States made 1,285,327 "back calls" on people who had shown interest in the work. The persistence and enthusiasm of these workers is perhaps explained by the fact that their primary purpose is not to convert the listener, though that is desired, but to carry out their conception of God's commandments and thereby insure themselves a place in the kingdom of Jehovah God.

The Witnesses are perhaps best known for their refusal to salute the flag, an act which they believe to be forbidden by the Second Commandment, and for their semi-pacifism—they will fight for Jehovah God but not for man. They have also attracted public attention by their forthright propaganda tactics and their unremitting warfare against the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church and other "organized religions." Their peculiar methods of preaching—which they themselves call "the strange work"—have got them into many a brush with the law. Local authorities do not always consider the house-to-house canvassing preaching, or may require a license, while the Witnesses refuse to ask permission of the "devil's kingdoms" to carry on "Jehovah's work."

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Every time the Witnesses have been restrained by a local ordinance and have carried the case to the United States Supreme Court, they have won. The actual "witnessing," that is, the manner in which they preach and proselyte, is unorthodox and may be irritating, especially to Roman Catholics, but it is not unconstitutional. On May 20, 1940, the United States Supreme Court affirmed by unanimous vote the constitutional right of the Witnesses to distribute their propaganda and to play their phonograph records (Cantwell *vs.* Connecticut).

This legal victory seemed to impel the Witnesses to greater zeal—and their opponents to extra-legal means to defeat them. The tense situation that resulted was made worse by another Supreme Court decision, handed down on June 3, which gave to school officials the right to force children to salute the flag. The latter decision, coming at the height of the fifth-column scare, made the Witnesses obvious targets for persecution.

The first of the recent attacks took place on May 22 at Del Rio, Texas. The United Press story read:

> An angry crowd of 400 persons headed by former service men escorted three Nazi agents to the city limits of Del Rio late today and warned them not to return. . . . The three agents . . . had been distributing Nazi literature in this Mexican border town for three days. Police said that yesterday they began forcing housewives to listen to pro-Nazi phonograph recordings and leaving copies of a pamphlet entitled "The Watch Tower" and bearing a swastika on the cover.

The pamphlet was in reality an anti-fascist, anti-Catholic publication called "Fascism or Freedom," and the swastika was on a ball and chain to denote fascist slavery.

On May 25 three Witnesses were accused of being Nazi agents and threatened by a hostile crowd in Glenwood, Arkansas. A few days later the same charge was made against two Witnesses in Sanford, Maine, and they were severely beaten by a Legion mob. On June 22 a Witness was tarred and feathered at Parco, Wyoming, for having allegedly given the Nazi salute. On June 30 the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* carried the following statement by Dr. A. C. Bryan, American Legion commander at Meridian, Mississippi:

> We, the American Legion, in cooperation with the police department, are making every effort to round up these "Witnesses." It is the duty of every citizen to report these persons to the police. The literature being issued by members of this organization is printed chiefly in Germany by German printers and on German paper.

A charge of distributing Nazi literature was brought against the Witnesses in Odessa, Texas, on June 1, and a "kangaroo court" that included many city and police officials and a Baptist minister tried to coerce them into saluting the flag. The Witnesses' official report of this affair states:

> At Odessa, Texas, about seventy innocent men, women, and children were hauled into the courtroom by the sheriff and county attorney, held until midnight without food or water, and then the thirty-five men were packed into a small upper room for the rest of the night. During five hours from midnight they were brought downstairs, one by one, and grilled by the American Legion. Purposely deprived of food and drink until ten o'clock Sunday morning, they were then loaded on a truck and carried to the county line, delivered to a mob of a thousand, guided by and including the American Legion, who stoned and drove them on foot along the railroad right of way for over five miles. They were prevented from leaving the right of way to get water; a number fainted and had to be carried . . .

One of the most disturbing features of this wave of violence is the complete unwillingness of local law-enforcement officers to protect the Witnesses. In many cases officers of the law have been active participants in the outrages. At Jackson, Mississippi, a group of Jehovah's Witnesses, many of them citizens of the state, on being threatened by the American Legion appealed for local and state protection—in vain. On June 27 they were chased across the state line by a mob led by the head of a private detective agency and delivered into the hands of Louisiana legionnaires. "They would not allow the women and children to go to toilets or to secure food. Several of the legionnaires went ahead, and at every town we were met by officers and ordered on," writes the leader of the group.

In nearly every account of the prevalent violence we read that the Witnesses were accused of being pro-Nazi and that American legionnaires led the attacks. The pro-Nazi charge has no validity since the Witnesses' literature is strongly anti-Nazi and their work is forbidden in Germany. Their printing plant in Magdeburg was confiscated by the Nazis, and some 3,000 Witnesses are in concentration camps. The Witnesses believe that the fifth-column excitement is being used against them by the American Legion, urged on by the Catholic church. Because of their vigorous assaults on organized religions, especially on the best organized of all, the Roman Catholic church, the Witnesses have long been a target for relentless Catholic attack. For years the Catholic church, firmly intrenched in local politics, has tried to restrict the activities of the Witnesses by city ordinances and police regulations. When Judge Rutherford broadcast from London on September 11, 1938, Catholic authorities in the United States used both legal and illegal means to prevent his being heard by his followers. In New Orleans a policeman named MacNamara cut the telephone wires when the speech began. The Right Reverend Peter N. H. Wynhoven, editor of *Catholic Action of the South,* commented on the New Orleans convention:

> It is indeed a source of deep gratification that notwithstanding the persistent efforts of the Witnesses of

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> Jehovah their three-day convention in New Orleans was frustrated. . . . Practically every large hall in the city was denied them. . . . The chief of police's office and the sheriff of Jefferson Parish unhesitatingly stepped in to stop effectively this insult to New Orleans.

In Dickinson, Texas, Father Thomas A. Carney, priest of the Shrine of the True Cross, was arrested on complaint of a Witness for directing an assault against several members of the group. The priest was defended by a prominent Protestant lawyer from Houston, and the trial was officially observed by representatives of the American Legion from Houston, Galveston, and other cities. The spectators cheered when Father Carney was freed, a Witness was fined for contempt of court, and a grand-jury investigation of the Witnesses was promised. The Houston *Chronicle* of July 7, 1940, reported Father Carney's testimony as follows:

> Father Carney's testimony was that he had seen the group in Dickinson Sunday and that he had walked over to the car with "some of my boys" to warn them to leave town. He said that when it became apparent that the group was not going to leave peaceably he walked back to his home, telling "the boys" to see that the group left town without distributing any literature or phonograph records. "I didn't tell the boys to hit anybody," said Father Carney," but as long as it happened, I'm glad that they did it. Those people deserved it."

Far from condemning the recent wave of Legion lawlessness, National Commander Raymond J. Kelly writes as follows in the *National Legionnaire* for July, 1940:

> The good of the nation compels summary action to be taken by our properly constituted federal, state, and local authorities to stamp out in their entirety the activities of these subverters, irrespective of what may happen to their fellow-travelers or innocent bystanders. This is no time for quibbling. We must pull no punches. In my public utterances I have stressed the importance of American Legion organizations assisting and working through recognized law-enforcement agencies. I see no reason for deviation from that policy at this time.

The Legion conception of "assisting and working through recognized law-enforcement agencies" is typified by the following resolution (June 27):

> Therefore be it resolved by the George Hart Post No. 167 of the American Legion, Harrisburg, Illinois, that in the future no Jehovah's Witnesses or any other sect having similar belief shall distribute any literature or play any recordings in the city of Harrisburg or surrounding territory stating publicly that they will neither salute the American flag nor take up arms in defense of this country in the event of an armed invasion. Be it further resolved that no Jehovah's Witnesses shall in the future solicit membership to their organization, either in the city of Harrisburg or any surrounding territory.

The Witnesses have just been banned in Canada, and there is no doubt that as we draw nearer to war our own tolerance for minority views will likewise diminish. But we are not yet at war. And I understand that the Department of Justice has sent a special circular to all United States district attorneys instructing them to take every possible measure to prevent interference with the Witnesses' right to freedom of assembly. Only resolute federal action to enforce the decisions of the Supreme Court can put an end to the assaults on the Witnesses, but this is election year and the pressure groups that would resent so vigorous a policy represent a political power no vote-seeker can ignore.

Within the Gates

THE Montana primaries of July 16 yielded an important item of news without making a ripple in the American press, namely, Jeannette Rankin's victory over Dr. Jacob Thorkelson for the Republican Congressional nomination. Defeated by 6,870 to 5,868, the country doctor will probably return to obscurity after the present session of Congress, but not without having made a real contribution to American fascism. For it was Thorkelson who demonstrated the value of an office on Capitol Hill as a platform for addressing the nation. Even though his colleagues frequently refused to listen to his obscene anti-Semitic diatribes, he made full use of the *Congressional Record* as a propaganda vehicle. By inserting lengthy extensions of his remarks in the appendix of the *Record,* Representative Thorkelson succeeded in stuffing it with more than 450 columns of propaganda, totaling approximately 360,000 words, at a cost to the government of more than $10,000 for printing. He also reprinted tens of thousands of his speeches and extensions and sent them—with a supply of "franked" envelopes—to the more important fascist leaders, who mailed them to their followers.

Dr. Thorkelson's success in distributing his propaganda has led other fascists and pro-Nazis to aspire to a seat in Senate or House. Joseph E. McWilliams, leader of the Christian Mobilizers, has come forward as the candidate of the so-called American Destiny Party. Four nights each week he harangues street-corner audiences in the Yorkville district of New York. Following the tried-and-true Nazi technique, he tells the people—the shabby, frustrated little people who mill sullenly in the streets because their apartments are unbearably hot and they can't afford tickets to the air-conditioned movies—that they should be represented in the national legislature by a man who is not the tool of "international Jewry." In other words, they should be represented by Joseph E. McWilliams. For his open Jew-baiting and "incitement to disturbance of the peace" McWilliams was recently fined $50. Another candidate of the American Destiny Party is McWilliams's first lieutenant, James Stewart, who is asking the voters of Harlem and Washington Heights to send him to Congress.

According to present plans, the name of the American Destiny Party will not appear on the ballot. McWilliams and Stewart will first attempt to capture the Republican nominations in the primaries. If they fail—as they almost certainly will—they will try to have their names presented to the

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voters under the designation of "Independent Republicans." Even qualified by the term "Independent," the Republican label will snare some Republican voters who are dissatisfied with their party's nominee or platform and welcome the chance to cast a protest vote. The members of the American Destiny Party will vote right no matter what party label is chosen, for they will have been taken into the confidence of their leaders.

Of all American fascists campaigning for Congress, none has been more outspoken than Kenneth A. Brown of Gervais, Oregon. His platform is built of a single plank—anti-Semitism; and his four-page advertisement in Oregon's "Official Voters' Pamphlet" fell one step short of advocating a pogrom. In the primaries Brown received only one vote for every seven given his opponent, the popular James W. Mott, but his unexpected strength of more than 10,000 votes convinced him he should become a candidate of the American Destiny Party in the fall elections. In the meantime he is attempting to increase his following by means of a weekly news letter called the *American Fifth Column*. The real fifth columnists, according to Brown, are the Jews.

Another West Coast fascist to adopt the Republican label is Harold A. Sparling, who is campaigning in the Seventeenth California District (Los Angeles) for the Republican nomination to the House of Representatives. Mr. Sparling's concept of good government is indicated by his favorite slogan: "We liberated France, and we shall liberate these United States." An expensive campaign booklet entitled "Why I Am Running for Congress" acknowledges the candidate's indebtedness to Father Coughlin. "I want personally to thank the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin," says Sparling, "for being so kind as to allow me to quote from two of his very valuable books."

The Democratic Party also is being used by politically ambitious fascists. The most formidable of these is Louis B. Ward of Michigan, who last month resigned his position as editorial director of Coughlin's *Social Justice* to seek the Democratic nomination to the United States Senate. Mr. Ward is no amateur in politics. In a four-way race for the senatorial nomination in 1936 he ran a close second to the winner, Prentiss M. Brown, obtaining 117,872 votes to Brown's 125,338. After his defeat in the primaries he became a candidate of Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice but was again defeated by Brown, this time by the decisive margin of 910,937 to 75,680. Another of Father Coughlin disciples to announce his candidacy for Congress is Dr. George H. Derry, who will oppose Representative John D. Dingell of Michigan. Because Dr. Derry is a national officer of the Knights of Columbus, he is expected to poll a large Catholic vote outside of Coughlin's following.

These candidates, and others who have not been discussed, are not immediately dangerous. None of them, with the possible exception of Ward, is conceded the slightest chance—at least this year. But they are important because they indicate that fascist forces for the first time are making a real attempt to capture the national legislature. They are straws in the wind. Hitler did not succeed in destroying the Weimar Republic until he reconciled himself to the unpleasant task of winning seats in the Reichstag.

In the Wind

STATUETTES OF Allied war leaders are being sold in London. Those of Mr. Churchill and Lord Gort are priced at sixpence. Those of Mr. Chamberlain and General Gamelin are advertised as "specially reduced" to threepence.

ALTHOUGH THE NEWSPAPERS have reported that John G. Winant is to succeed J. Warren Madden as head of the National Labor Relations Board, Winant has told friends that the job has never been offered to him; moreover, he has expressed vigorous approval of Madden's regime.

AT CHRISTIAN FRONT and other right-wing meetings these days subdued approval is being voiced for Wendell Willkie. Most of the orators lament Willkie's foreign policy but call him "the lesser evil" and boast that "anti-Jewish money is going into his treasury."

DURING THE RECENT heat wave, with the temperature at 95 in Boston, the Shell gasoline sign over the Charles River flashed in large electric letters which could be seen for miles around. The first letter wasn't functioning.

BUSINESS GROUPS are planning to flood the country with huge billboards which will read (in effect): "Remember England and France. America can't afford industrial troubles."

REVIEWING A Tschaikowsky concert in London, the Croydon *Times* explained: "In fairness to the memory of Tschaikowsky it should be emphasized that his music was the product of Czarist and not Bolshevist Russia."

THE CHICAGO *TIMES* has dropped Hugh Johnson's column. In doing so it ran an editorial explanation deploring the venom of Johnson's attacks on the President. "Hell hath no fury like General Johnson's scorn," it said.

JAMES CAREY, C. I. O. secretary, recently wrote an article for his union paper indorsing President Roosevelt for a third term. The article dispelled any idea that John L. Lewis might actively oppose Roosevelt. Carey is one of his closest, most loyal lieutenants.

HAVANA NOTES: At one of the conference sessions everybody was making speeches about Bolivar. When Hull's turn came he was obviously unprepared to speak. He rose, hesitated a moment, and then proposed one minute of silence in honor of the great Liberator. . . . Kurt Sel, correspondent of D. N. B., the official German news agency, was talking to American newspapermen. "Going to the official reception?" he asked. "Sorry, we weren't invited. Are you going?" Whereupon Sel replied, "I should say so. If the fifth column can't get in, I'd like to know who can."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

IN CHAPEL HILL, which is a North Carolina village as well as the University of North Carolina's town, Paul Green and Richard Wright work at one table in these hot weeks dramatizing Wright's "Native Son" for production by Orson Welles this fall. The dramatization may be as important as the drama. Green is a Southerner of white, Southern-farmer stock. Wright has become the city Negro. Wright wrote his grim Chicago story to show the effects on a Negro of the social and economic problems confronting his race. Green, rejecting Hollywood, has remained in his South, where among white men and Negroes those problems begin.

These two, as they work in Chapel Hill while so many other American minds are on war abroad, know that it is easier to see the results in Chicago at the end of baffled migration from Mississippi than it is to make some sense and safety where the slow, bundle-carrying, timid, and determined movement of Negroes and little white men begins. The Okies were new and strange in California; sadder are the thousands more like them who are not strange in Oklahoma. There were a million more people on the cotton farms of the South when World War II began than at the beginning of World War I, but cotton only brought half its old share of national income.

Those facts are not only back of the play but back of the politics, and this month a committee of Congressmen, named out of an attention now diminishing, are coming down to look at them. The committee's interest is the migrants, and they are going first in the South to Montgomery, Alabama, which was founded long ago by a migrant from Rhode Island. Their chairman himself moved from Minnesota by Kansas and Montana to California, a longer distance than the Joads pushed from Oklahoma. Moving does not make a migrant; it is what he started from and what he finds.

The Congressmen are welcome, but I wonder what they will find. Not much that is new, I am afraid. They will hear the experts—maybe some of the more articulate poor. In the evenings they can take their puzzles or their answers to the air-conditioned Drum Room of the Jefferson Davis, where they put together a very palatable julep. And they can talk. That's what Alabama does, and Arkansas. At home nobody yet has found an answer. That is certainly not because they do not want one.

It is hot in Montgomery in August, but it is a beautiful month. Cotton bursts open in the sun; there are long twilights. At night the black belt lies steaming in the deep dark. It is a crowded darkness. Where the soil and most of the people are black, both violence and easygoing remain, but easygoing grows difficult. The land is worn; the cabins are crowded. The Negroes move in knots on the roads and alone or in couples across the fields and along the ditches. Tow-headed women rock babies on the porches. Sallow men laugh loudly in the filling stations. Slavery is gone for the same reason that it began to burden Virginia under Jefferson: it does not pay. People are not worth their pot liquor and corn pone.

Alabama was the Promised Land once. It was the new, rich land which lay behind the colored folks' proud cry from the quarters, "Niggers is riz'!" Alabama was the end of migration. Virginia was then its beginning. Jefferson put at least two dozen of his Monticello slaves on the market, saying, "Nor would I willingly sell the slaves as long as there remains any prospect of paying my debts with their labor." Instead, they were eating up Virginia and the Virginians. The land there was worn out; war—the war for American liberty—had cut the foreign markets. But Jefferson himself bought the vast lands called Louisiana. The foreign slave trade was outlawed. Eli Whitney and English textile men invented machines.

"Niggers is riz'!" A man could take pride in his price.

How are they fallen, and white men with them now!

The answer is not in Richard Wright's book. I don't think Paul Green can help him put it in his play. I am not counting on the Congressmen. But I am glad the migrants moved, even to brutal murder in Chicago, mass violence in California. This business back of Bigger Thomas, this business which drove the Joads, is not a migrant problem. The migrants are only the messengers, carrying both news and shame to the whole land. California did not like it, and Chicago is not entirely pleased about it. That is not hard to understand. The reason the landlords tied their tractors to the tenant houses and pulled them down was that not even the toughest landlords want hungry children on their places, under their eyes. What I fear now is that in California and Chicago, New York and Detroit, the war abroad will pull all our home memories down. I am grateful to Congressmen and novelists and playwrights, to everybody who keeps these people under our eyes. The only answer will come from uninterrupted attention. They will not stop starving or moving because they are forgotten.

[*From now on Mr. Daniels's page, A Native at Large, will appear in* The Nation *every week.*]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes on a Mexican Journey

THE parlor car from Vera Cruz to Mexico City is filled, so I find a seat in *primera clase*. Every inch of space is filled with human and other baggage. The fat conductor, who is pure Indian, gets through the aisle only with difficulty. The population shifts—the train stops at least half a hundred times—but never shrinks. At every town we are surrounded by men in serapes and women with babies slung in rebosos and so closely wrapped that only a tiny hand or foot showing indicates the nature of the bundle. They offer trays heaped with tortillas, hard-boiled eggs in little baskets, many-colored fruits, fried chicken. There are children, too, selling souvenirs or flowers—mostly gardenias massed solidly in queer fragrant shapes. Boys with flutes come on board and ride to the next station, play wailing subtle tunes, and gather pennies. It is a journey through Mexican sounds and smells as well as Mexican landscapes—the whole gamut of tropics, mountains, dusty plateau. Contrasts too sharp to be inclosed in twelve hours; the pouring evening rain in Mexico City seems like a welcome solvent to the complex heated day.

"I WONDER that you don't write about the sensational events in Mexico. . . . You seem strangely tranquil and unaffected by all the blasting in Europe." A letter from a friend in the United States. It is early June. Trotsky has just escaped assassination; the Nazis are walking through France with giant tanks for boots. I don't subscribe to the theory that the Trotsky attack is some far-fetched fake—the surface explanation that it is the work of the G. P. U. seems to me the sensible one; I realize what is happening in Europe. And heaven knows, the headlines in the Mexican newspapers are sensational enough; they out-Hearst Hearst. Yet from Mexico City the sense of horror and doom that one takes in with the *Times* every morning in New York seems like a remote hysteria. Since I avoid radios and American newspapers I shall not experience that hysteria again until I pick up a copy of *Time* on the boat returning home—and realize with what fiendish expertness the American press and radio drive into the mind and heart every fact and implication of every hour's news.

The sketchiness of news in the Mexican papers is one element in the curious aspect that sensational and tragic events assume in Mexico—or at least assumed for me. I think another, more important one, has to do with the quality of Mexico itself. Mexico is theatrical—its climate, its scenery, its history, its social landscape, its people; and in this context sensational current events seem of a piece, not extraordinary. Whatever the reason, "trouble" in Mexico arouses more excitement in New York than I could find in Mexico City. There might be trouble. Who could tell? But certainly the possibility did not seem to weigh on the minds of the people I met, a limited group, to be sure, of Americans and Spaniards and Mexicans, but still a group in which any general state of tension or dread might be expected to be concentrated rather than otherwise. In Mexico City, in sight of Popocatepetl, I ceased for the first time in two years to have the feeling that I was living on the edge of a volcano; I almost came to feel that Mexico is a place where anything may not happen.

Yet volcanic is a word for describing Mexico. Counterpoint of inertia and eruption. It is hard to summon up fighting generals and bloody revolutions as one looks at the broad, gentle brown faces of the peasants in a village market with the sun pressing down like a white incubus. Yet one senses tremendous energy under the crust of squalor, ignorance, and apparent resignation. And the land is filled with the survivals or the ruins of its earlier manifestations, the pre-Spanish pyramids and tombs and the ubiquitous elaborate churches which the Spaniard inspired but which the Indian built.

I HAVE no intention of writing a travelogue of Mexico. It has been done before. Nor would I attempt any serious comment on a sociological scene in which feudalism, capitalism, and state socialism are mingled in such complexity that seasoned observers are humble before it. The pitfalls of such an attempt were vividly brought home to me by a European who has lived there for fifteen years. He quoted a sentence from the latest series by a flying American correspondent who had spent five weeks touring Mexico. The sentence stated that Mexico's production of corn is only half what it was in 1907, the implication being that the standard of living has fallen. My instructor pointed out that Mexican statistics were probably even more unreliable a generation ago than they are now; the 1907 figure is particularly suspect because it is much higher than the figures for 1906 and 1908. In any case the figures are for marketed corn and not total production. The lower current figure may possibly mean a larger home consumption. Again it may not, because the consumption of bread has risen, and bread is made from wheat. This, however, would indicate a rise in the standard of living, as does also the fact that the consumption of beer has increased. He ended with the general observation that the basic mistake Americans make is to think and write in terms of a monetary economy about a country and a people to which those terms apply only superficially.

THE BRAZILIAN ordered avocado salad at Sanborn's, which is the Schrafft's of Mexico City. The Brazilian is an engineer and business man, middle-aged, shaped like Humpty-Dumpty. He obviously has money and background. He speaks English and French; he was educated in England and France. His conversation is filled with unexpected subtleties and abstractions. He is a colonial European, a Latin American European. He is proud of his family and has firm ideas about the place of women. His wife is American, but she is also a protected Brazilian wife who knows nothing about her husband's affairs. "I have told her," he says, "that

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I have arranged for her permanent security. Why should she know more? It is better so. Her world is her home." There are three children. "My wife insists on speaking Portuguese. I'd rather she'd speak English for the children's sake." Intimation of rebellion? The protected American woman in the prosperous house in Rio de Janeiro interests me.

The Brazilian speaks German too, has been in Germany many times. He was there only last year. As we talk, the Germans are closing in on Paris and we exchange deprecations. But underneath I sense a reservation.

He tells me a story. "On one day a week, you know, all Germans must eat a certain soup for one meal—and nothing else. It's not bad, but I resented the idea. I went to call on an old friend, a professor, and there was that soup for lunch. Nothing else. I complained—he was a very old friend. He has two children, and they looked at me as if they were frightened. Suddenly my friend said to me, 'Come to my study. I have a letter for you. I almost forgot.'

"As soon as the door was closed, he pleaded with me not to talk about the soup. 'Not in front of the children. When they're gone I'll give you something else. But I don't want to make it hard for them. If they hear you complain they may feel that they must report it. Please eat the soup.' I ate the soup."

But again there was that reservation in the Brazilian's tone. And presently his voice was saying, "The Germans had to do what they've done. They had to organize the country." In the next breath he was telling me another story. In a German club where he was talking out loud to a Reichswehr officer, a busybody at the next table challenged his remarks and had to be called down by his friend, who happened to be important and above suspicion.

After that the Brazilian talked of other things. Of the dilatory ways of the Mexicans, of red tape; of the mistakes England had made; about the living standards of American workers—they are too high. And always that undercurrent of admiration for efficiency, Nazi efficiency, which came to the surface only a few times. I remember best from the Brazilian's conversation the things he did not say, that Germany is a good customer of Brazil, that what the world needs is efficiency.

EARLY AMERICAN NOTE: I see that the *Daily Worker* has been bought by the Freedom of the Press Company. This is owned in turn by three ladies who, to judge by the *Daily Worker's* announcement, were for Washington before Valley Forge. One of them belongs to the D. A. R.; another is described as a member of an old colonial family who became a Socialist (not a Communist) in 1898; of the third it is stated that her social consciousness was awakened through the novels of William Dean Howells. The paper, the announcement goes on a bit ominously, will receive the "wholehearted, continued, and ever-extending support" of the Communist Party. It is not revealed whether or not the three ladies will contribute to the columns of the paper, but if they are looking for pen names, I should like to suggest that they sign themselves Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania.

MARGARET MARSHALL

A New Economic Policy

A PROGRAMME FOR PROGRESS. By John Strachey. Random House. $3.

IN THIS book, the most interesting and suggestive he has written, John Strachey joins the handful of Marxists and Socialists who are trying to overcome a fatal defect of socialism—its lack of a workable economic program of transition. Two equally disastrous policies have been advocated: revolutionary seizure of political power with the immediate total abolition of capitalism (I am not sure Strachey wholly rejects this); and the policy of reforms with bits of nationalization, which does not change the direction of capitalism and in time of economic crisis fails to solve that crisis, in fact, makes it worse. Strachey is trying here to work out a program for a radical government that comes to power during an economic crisis, finds it impossible to abolish capitalism but possible to modify it, and must restore production and raise living standards within a modified capitalism or make the crisis worse and invite reaction.

The basic elements of Strachey's program, which he calls "a new economic policy for the democracies," are shaped out of the experience of the American New Deal with some additions of his own. A progressive government must create new purchasing power by investing in enterprises which are not, at least not wholly, dependent upon the making of profits and by distributing money to consumers through greatly increased expenditures on pensions, insurance, and other social services. Income must be redistributed from rich to poor by means of taxation that will not press directly upon industry and so increase the costs of production—for example, surtax and death duties. The interest rate must be lowered to make investment and enterprise more attractive to private borrowers and more possible to public borrowers. To this Strachey adds the absolute necessity for a public banking system, on a non-profit basis, to finance government spending and to break the strangle-hold of finance on industry; and for a strict public control over the balance of foreign payments, to prevent a counter-offensive by the financial interests in the form of that flight of capital which was used so effectively against the government of Léon Blum in France.

That the program arises out of New Deal experience is nothing against it; on the contrary, that is in its favor. For while New Deal economists learned from the Marxist analysis and conclusion regarding the impossibility of constantly increasing accumulation of capital (investment), Marxists like Strachey and myself were so wrapped up in the analysis and conclusion that we did nothing to formulate a workable economic program to deal with the capitalist crisis. The economic experiments of the New Deal have made a decisive contribution to applied economics: any radical government, progressive or socialist, must shape its policy in large measure out of that contribution. But Strachey makes almost a complete circle, and in his enthusiasm is not sufficiently critical of New Deal economics. At many points Strachey's analyses and conclusions are defective and unconvincing. Space allows me only a few observations.

Strachey, following Keynes, overemphasizes the importance of the rate of interest—although both in the abstract

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admit its limitations. That rate is falling; it must fall still more. But the influence of the rate of interest on industry is limited. American corporate industry in the 1920's expanded with hardly any recourse to additional bank credit, the substantial increase in credit being used up in real estate and speculation. Low interest rates have not effectively stimulated new investment since 1933; partly because dominant industry can finance expansion out of its own resources, mainly because low interest rates are no answer to the decreasing proportional need for new capital investment. In this book, as in his "Nature of Capitalist Crisis," Strachey is not wholly clear about the significance of the falling rate of profit. The rate of profit depends upon constantly increasing capital investment; when the rate of new investment begins to decrease, as is now the case, it is impossible to maintain a high rate of profit for industry as a whole. While Strachey argues, rightly, that one of the tasks of a progressive government is to "restore the profitability of production," that can be done for non-monopoly business only at the expense of big business, by limiting monopoly profits in favor of competitive business (and of purchasing power). Otherwise, to "restore profitability" by means of lower interest rates and government creation of purchasing power will pile up profits and dividends that become idle surplus capital, with a resulting ill-balance that moves toward disaster. That is what happened in the United States in 1934-37 when, largely because of the New Deal program, profits rose, but *rose more than production, the national income and purchasing power—profits almost reached the 1928-29 level while the average yearly new investment was only 10 per cent of the average for those two years.* This played at least as great a part as retrenchment in New Deal spending in bringing the 1937 recession. Moreover, Strachey too closely identifies recipients of interest with capitalists. Dividends, in this country at least, are the monopoly of 300,000 stockholders who get 80 per cent of all dividends, but interest payments are much more widely distributed among the people, especially through their stake in insurance and savings. Too low an interest rate would harm millions of plain people and turn them against a progressive government. The problem is not solved by Strachey's offhand remark that interest on savings up to $2,500 should be maintained at 3 per cent by government action. Finally Strachey fails to integrate fully the Marxist analysis of investment and profit with the new economic problems because it still remains for him largely a dogmatic abstraction.

In itself the "expansionist" program suggested by Strachey has no direct relation to socialism; and he says himself that another collapse would follow unless the program moved toward socialism. But he does not combine the two, for he still opposes an absolute socialism to an absolute capitalism. Clearly, however, we cannot keep the two things in separate compartments; an immediate economic program must move toward socialism, and socialism must incorporate itself in the immediate program. That means that the economics of socialism must be reconsidered in terms of a limited collectivism. This Strachey does not do. Moreover, he still clings to the theory of "absolute working-class power as a prerequisite of socialism." But unless socialism can recast itself as an expression of the interests of all useful functional groups in society, directly, specifically, unequivocally, neither socialism nor the "expansionist" program can be put across. Farmers and salaried employees will not see their interests expressed in Strachey's program, except by indirection. His emphasis is on workers and wages, an emphasis that must be broadened and deepened if we are to get anywhere.

LEWIS COREY

Small Canvas

MADAME DORTHEA. By Sigrid Undset. Translated from the Norwegian by Arthur G. Chater. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

WITH curious abruptness, almost as if this book were but a fragment of a longer work, Sigrid Undset raises a curtain on the most fateful moment in the usually placid life of middle-aged Madame Dorthea Thestrup, and drops it as suddenly a few months later in the story, which depicts sympathetically but unsentimentally Dorthea's tragic loss of her husband, the resultant breaking up of her home, and various family unpleasantnesses, including the revelation of some sinister blots on her mother's past. The plot has hardly larger dimensions than many a short-story plot, though it is expanded through intimate character development and expeditions along side trails, many of which are not explored to any definite conclusion. The number of loose ends, indeed, would seem to bear out the suggestion that "Madame Dorthea" is merely the core of what was intended to be a more ambitious novel—the course of recent events in Mrs. Undset's Norway might well have interrupted a large-scale project—unless the author has purposely eschewed a tightly integrated organization in order to show that life itself is thus formless, patternless, inconclusive. There is even, as in some of Selma Lagerlöf's stories, a hint of occult, inexplicable currents in the stream of human affairs, since the circumstances of Thestrup's disappearance remain utterly mysterious, and the gipsy Sibilla possesses a "second sight" which even Dorthea's rational mind must make a strong effort to discount.

The time of the story, though not definitely indicated, is apparently the late eighteenth century, but except for incidental details of background it might easily be today, for Mrs. Undset is concerned with the spiritual responses of individuals under stress rather than with the *mores* of an epoch as in "Kristin Lavransdatter."

LOUIS B. SALOMON

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IN BRIEF

THE BRIMSTONE GAME: MONOPOLY IN ACTION. By R. H. Montgomery. Vanguard Press. $1.25.

Professor Montgomery has achieved a minor miracle in economic literature. In no more than ninety-four pages he has shown how monopolists sabotage production and create unemployment, and nailed down his thesis with a damning case-history of the sulphur industry. In addition, he has written with such clarity, wit, and vigor that the reader is swept along as by a first-class detective yarn. The American production of brimstone, or sulphur, is almost entirely in the hands of two companies possessing a water-tight selling agreement with foreign producers. During the depression decade, while prices in competitive industries were slashed again and again, sulphur was maintained rigidly at $18 per ton—about three times average costs. There could be no better proof of the monopolistic nature of the industry. This illuminating book is one of the first studies to draw on the voluminous evidence already accumulated by the TNEC.

THE QUAKER INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. By Howard Hintz. Fleming H. Revell Company. $1.

A handy, readable account of the part which Quaker ideas and principles played in the work of Penn, Paine, Woolman, Brockden Brown, Cooper, Emerson, Whitman, and Whittier, with a note on the close relationship between the Quaker philosophy and American liberalism in general.

JOSEPH E. BROWN AND THE CONFEDERACY. By Louise Biles Hill. University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

"Who the devil is Joe Brown?" demanded Robert Toombs of Georgia, on being told in 1857 that the Democrats of his state had nominated someone by that name for governor. If the modern reader is inclined to echo the question, it is because the legend of the Confederacy has caused all but the best-informed to forget how large a part internal politics played in its defeat. Burton Hendrick, in his "Statesmen of the Lost Cause," used the intransigent Governor of Georgia as an example. Now comes a minutely documented account of Brown's whole surprising career. He broke all precedent by serving four successive terms, triumphantly reelected by the people of a state undoubtedly devoted to the Confederate cause, although his bickerings with the Confederate government were a scandal verging on treason. "That Brown was important in the failure of the South to achieve independence seems obvious," says Miss Hill. In view of the evidence and the importance of Georgia both geographically and economically, one can only agree. But one is left still wondering about Brown's motives. The fact that as soon as the war was over he became a Scalawag and then a Bourbon Democrat, proceeding from a judgeship to a career in the United States Senate, would lead one to the conclusion that he had always been a Union man at heart if one did not know that before 1861 he had been one of the principal Secessionist firebrands. Perhaps he was merely an unashamed seeker after personal aggrandizement after all.

RECORDS

COLUMBIA'S set of Haydn's Symphony No. 104 (M-409, $5) has arrived, and reveals the anticipated excellences of Beecham's performance with the London Philharmonic—his powerful, sharply nuanced phrasing, the orchestra's beautiful playing and impressive sonority. Unanticipated is the revelation—with each side of the Victor set that I have played after the corresponding side of the Columbia set—of the superiority of those qualities of small-group ensemble performance that I found enchanting in the Edwin Fischer Chamber Orchestra version a few weeks ago, and of the greater effectiveness which those qualities of performance give to the music. The wonderful balancing and blending and matching of colors and sonorities by the Fischer group are what make the D minor whisper of the strings after the entire orchestra's opening call in D major so breathtaking, and contribute to making the entire introduction so much more impressive than in the Beecham performance. Again, what makes the opening theme of the second movement more affecting in the Fischer performance is the greater sensitiveness and fluidity of the playing of the small group. These, moreover, are qualities not merely of execution: they are themselves a manifestation of the superlative musical feeling and taste that are shown in the outlines, the pace, the spirit, the force of the work in the Fischer performance. And the greatness of the work, realized as it is in this performance, makes M-617 one of the finest sets Victor has ever issued.

Victor offers a new recording of another superb Haydn symphony, No. 92 ("Oxford") (M-682, $5), made by Bruno Walter with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra—a performance that treats the music with the warmth and sensitiveness of Walter's own nature, rather than with the sharpness and sparkle of Beecham's, and that in its own way is delightful. And another outstanding set is that of Schubert's lovely Moments Musicaux Opus 94 (M-684, $6.50), played by Schnabel with wonderful feeling for their delicacy and subtlety, and with his playing marvelously recorded. But what I am impatient for is the recordings Schnabel made of Schubert's great posthumous Sonata in B flat and the Sonata Opus 53.

The Budapest Quartet being the unique group that it is, there should be recordings of its performances of all the quartets of Beethoven, the best of Mozart, Schubert, Haydn. But Victor, with which the group has now signed a contract, already has recordings of many of the greatest of these works made by the Busch and Pro Arte Quartets; and it is issuing the entire Beethoven series recorded by the Coolidge group. We are, then, not likely to get Budapest recordings of Schubert, of Haydn, of even the last quartets of Beethoven; we may hope for some of Mozart; and what we are offered this month is Dvorak's Quartet Opus 96 ("American") (M-681, $6.50)—a fine set of this enjoyable work, but all things considered a poor use of great talent.

What we get in the set of Stravinsky's Capriccio for piano and orchestra (M-685, $4.50) is Stravinsky's own poor use of his great talent—in the service of impoverished emotions. The performance by Sanromá and the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky and the recording have a steely brilliance. Constant Lambert, conducting the London Philharmonic, does a good job with the gorgeous-sounding but somewhat repetitious "On Hearing the First Cuckoo in Spring" of Delius (4496, $1). And another single disc (16969, $2) offers Brahms's "Sapphic Ode," Schubert's "Hark, Hark, the Lark," and Wolf's "Weyla's Song," sung by Kerstin Thorborg, one of the Metropolitan's outstanding artists, whose beautiful voice suffers at times from the strong tremolo that is heard on this record, and who is not wholly successful with the style of these songs.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

No Treason in Norway

Dear Sirs: As *The Nation* has on several occasions referred to "the inside job" which according to Leland Stowe's now famous "scoop" is supposed to have handed Norway over to Germany, it may be proper to examine Mr. Stowe's charges. Lack of space forbids me to do anything but point out a few of his most salient errors.

1. He asserts that the Germans were able to penetrate the narrows of Oslo Fjord because the mines there had been "rendered harmless by being electrically disconnected from the Drobak Central."

There were no mines in the Oslo Fjord. This is vouched for both by Halvdan Koht, the Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and by General Otto Ruge, the commander-in-chief of the Norwegian armies. Consequently there could be no disconnecting for treacherous hands to do.

2. He asserts that the commanders of three Norwegian warships received forged messages ordering them not to fight against the Germans.

According to official Norwegian documents no such forged orders were ever received by the commanders.

3. He says: "The Norwegian traitors still remain anonymous, save for a few conspicuous cases. But the Norwegian fortresses of Kongsvinger and Sarpsborg stand on the record of their act."

All we need to say about this statement is that the fortress of Kongsvinger was dismantled in 1905, and the fortress of Sarpsborg had not been in use since 1933. (See the letter by the Norwegian Minister to the United States, Wilhelm Munthe de Morgenstierne, in *Life*, July 15.)

4. Mr. Stowe says that "Trondheim, the largest city in Norway, . . . was defended by four forts. One of these, Husnes, was reputed to be the strongest in Norway."

Trondheim is by no means the largest city in Norway. Oslo is more than four times as large as Trondheim, and Bergen is about twice as large. Agdenes was the largest fort in the Trondheim area. Husnes is some 300 miles farther down the coast near Bergen.

5. "By bribery and extraordinary infiltration on the part of Nazi agents and by treason on the part of a few highly placed Norwegian civilians and defense officials, the German dictatorship built up a Trojan horse inside of Norway," says Stowe.

Neither Stowe nor anyone else has proved that there was treason on the part of any highly placed Norwegian civilian or defense officials. A lot of rumors of treason and sabotage were spread by the Germans themselves so as to demoralize the Norwegian resistance, but both Koht and Ruge declare that to the best of their knowledge no authenticated case of treason among Norwegian officials has been discovered.

This last statement would also largely dispose of the sweeping charges made by Maurice Feldman in his article entitled Sweden's Trojan Horse in *The Nation* for April 27. There we were informed:

> Norwegians in the highest positions in the country's military and civic life deserted to the enemy. Commanders at important points, officers on the General Staff, prominent industrialists and merchants, the rector of Oslo University, and high church officials supported the puppet government of the leader of the Norwegian Nazis, Vidkunn Quisling.

The truth is that there was practically no support given to the Quisling "government" by Norwegians of either high or low degree. Even with the backing of the German army Quisling stayed in "power" less than a week. The following is what C. J. Hambro, for fifteen years president of the Norwegian Parliament, has to say about the "support" granted Quisling:

> Not a single one of the men he appointed as members of his Cabinet was willing to serve. Not a single public functionary came when he ordered them to take the oath of loyalty to his government. He invited leaders in organizations—employers, labor leaders, shipowners—to a conference, and there was not one who came.

It is about time that our publications began to examine more closely the stories of treason and sabotage in the European democracies which they have been spreading with such reckless abandon. Nothing will please the enemies of democracies more than such insidious undermining of confidence in our institutions. Actual cases of treason should certainly be exposed wherever found, but so much hysteria has already been aroused by rumors of fifth-column activity both here and abroad that grave injustices may be perpetrated unless we examine all such rumors with scrupulous care.

C. A. CLAUSEN

Springfield, Ohio, July 24

Only One Thing Matters

Dear Sirs: Anti-third-term arguments are pretty silly, and too many are wholly insincere. Only one thing matters. Is Mr. Roosevelt the *best available* man for the Presidency of the United States? If he is and as long as he is, be it for the third term or the tenth term, he should be elected. Dictatorship is in no way in question, and most of those who raise the bugaboo know it.

New York, July 31 M. SCHULMAN

For a Decent Campaign

Dear Sirs: Can anything be done to insure a decent, honest, clean Presidential contest? As a rule, campaigns are not honest. The stump speakers seek applause, not clarification of issues. They distort, misrepresent, abuse the opposition, indulge in sophistry, dig up trivial and forgotten episodes, and appeal to partisan bigotry and blind prejudice.

Can we make an exception of the present campaign? Can we manage to put some intellectual honesty into the so-called debate? Willkie is not a product of machine politics; he is not a tricky, oily politician. Roosevelt has been President for seven and a half years, and it is absurd to revive old and petty charges against him. It is silly to talk of his wealth, his country-squire background. He has been a sincere and true friend of labor, a progressive humanitarian, a courageous and bold enemy of the brutes and gangsters who have enslaved continental Europe.

The situation favors a sober discussion of the actual differences between his pledges and those of his opponent. What would Willkie do for labor, for agriculture, for the unemployed, for the investors in stocks and bonds, for the aged and disabled? How much of the New Deal would he attempt to repeal or nullify? Let Willkie be candid with the intelligent voters. Let the independents and the liberal-minded put him on record and promptly expose any artful dodging.

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The result of the campaign will depend on the farmers, the wage-workers, and the thoughtful liberals. Willkie must win over these groups. Big business and the newspapers dependent on advertising will do all they can to help him. Their strategy and tactics will have to be carefully studied and skilfully fought. The liberals have a big job before them. VICTOR S. YARROS

Westport Point, Mass., August 1

Franco in Cuba

Dear Sirs: On Thursday, July 25, the Cuban police arrested and interned in their equivalent of Ellis Island Dr. Jenaro Artiles, former librarian of the Municipal Library in Madrid. The Franco ambassador in Havana had asked for extradition on the grounds that Dr. Artiles had come unlawfully by a book supposedly "stolen" from the Church of Santa Maria. The extradition order was given by the Cuban Foreign Office. The Foreign Minister, Dr. Angel Campa, I am informed, is exceedingly anxious to go to Spain as ambassador.

Dr. Artiles, as municipal librarian in Madrid in 1936 when the rebellion broke out, was appointed by the government to serve on its committee for the preservation of art treasures. This committee, as is well known, did a brilliant job. Dr. Artiles himself had pictures, archives, and the like transferred from the churches, which were in considerable danger, to the National Library. The parish priest in Santa Maria now discovers that a visitors' book is missing. Artiles left Madrid in November of 1936 to take the post of commercial attaché in Switzerland for his government. He never returned to Spain. On Saturday, July 27, Dr. Artiles was released by the Cuban authorities after his lawyer had presented documentary proof that he was Cuban by birth, being a son of a Spaniard resident in Cuba before 1900 who did not sign the "Spanish Register" making him a Spaniard rather than a Cuban citizen. Artiles is out, but the principle on which he was arrested and held for deportation is still intact.

The Cuban press chief, one Conde de Rivero, who was also Cuban ambassador to the Vatican, is a passionate Franquista. He is the brother of de Rivero who publishes the *Diario de la Marina,* which is the most devoted Franco organ in the whole Latin American world. The *Diario de la Marina* expressed itself as of the opinion that too much importance was given to the case of Artiles; he had nothing to fear, if innocent, from Franco's justice.

Almost across the street from the Hotel Nacional in Havana is the building of the Escuela Libre de la Havana, a college set up by a group of distinguished Spanish Republicans in exile, professors from the University of Granada and Madrid among them. They offer some exceedingly interesting courses and, if given support, can cut into the influence of the Jesuit Academy Belem, where the sons of the Cuban middle class are educated. Not one of the professors on the staff is a Communist or anything like it.

The Escuela Libre decided some months ago to offer a course in business and banking in Spanish for the employees of American and British firms. They got a rather heavy enrolment from the National City Bank, but when the bank discovered that the school was Loyalist, for which read "red," it ordered its employees to cancel their enrolment. M. P. D.

Havana, August 1

Dictatorship in Tennessee

Dear Sirs: Philip H. Mankin, for fourteen years professor of English at State Teachers' College, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, has been dismissed without any charges having been brought against him. The reason given was that it was an "economy move" on the part of the new administration—a stupid evasion which didn't fool anybody. In a whispering campaign the usual accusation of beliefs that are anathema to honest, God-fearing Tennessee patrons was dusted off and put into use: Mankin was an atheist; he was a red; he was opposed to establishment of R. O. T. C. units in the college, and was therefore unpatriotic and probably a Communist!

The forces standing for progressive education and academic freedom in middle Tennessee protested vehemently against the dismissal of the most liberal and stimulating mind in the college and asked the state board for an investigation. The state board found Mankin guiltless of any charges, whispered or otherwise, but upheld the president in his dismissal. Evidently the board was afraid to stir up too much noise because of political interests involved and preferred risking the ire of a liberal minority to opposing the big boys who hold the reins of power in the state. Any fair investigation would have exposed the ugly dictatorship at S. T. C.

Some students at the college, wishing to aid in the fight for Mankin, were told they risked their teaching jobs in the state if they signed any petition in his favor.

Unless this move toward fascism in the schools is stopped, we patrons of state schools must expect our children to be taught by political appointees and accidental scholars. If a fine educator can be removed at the caprice of authority without any charges, and if the powerful state board is afraid to let the people see backstage into the political involvements, then dictatorship has come to S. T. C.

FRANK JONES, JR.

Ann Arbor, Mich., July 29

Grateful to Mr. Haggin

Dear Sirs: Ever since the Victor Black Seal records were announced I have hoped that an unbiased reviewer would give his opinion of their actual worth. And Mr. Haggin has done just that (*The Nation* for June 22), for which I am certainly grateful. The two monthly record reviews to which I subscribe, supposedly unbiased, have been rather cagey about those records.

ELIZABETH L. JUDKINS

Larchmont, N. Y. July 18

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